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of peace for the certain evils of war and to waste the resources of two great nations on the field of battle.

Believe me, my brethren, one who seeks to deserve the character of

AN UNPREJUDICED AND PEACEFUL ENGLISHMAN.

London, Feb. 12, 1846.

#### PATRIOTIC SLAVERY.

BY J. P. BLANCHARD.

We read in an old fable that an Ass loaded with panniers laid down and refused to go any further; that his master whipped him up, telling him that the enemy was approaching, and if he did not move quick he would fall into their hands; to which the Ass replied, that "he did not care for that, if he was to carry heavy loads and be whipped, it might be as well by one master as another." Now there are a number of very respectable persons in our community who would be very indignant at the imputation of the name or character of the humble quadruped above mentioned, who yet really do not seem to have attained the light which would enable them to act so sensibly. You will hear them denouncing the rulers of the country as unprincipled demagogues, striving to promote the supremacy of their party or their own private interests, without regard to the rights, or the good of the people, and ready at any time to plunge the nation into war if these selfish ends can be accomplished by it; and in the next breath telling you, that you must have a strong military force, and place it in the hands of these very unprincipled men, that they may protect you against foreign aggression.

Now at the risk of being placed in the company of the Ass, I say with that animal, if I am to be trodden down by a military despotism, it matters not to me whether the head of that despotism is at Washington, London or Paris; either of the two last might treat me with more lenity than the first, whose responsibility for abuse of power would be merged in that of a servile majority.

But says one of the respectable bipeds, we don't propose to entrust our Government with a regular standing army, like those of France or England; we know that such a thing would be destructive of liberty, for our public orators have always told us so; but we wish to have a numerous, well organised and drilled militia—citizen soldiers—whose interests and feelings are the same as yours, and who can never be made instruments of tyranny. This fallacy is maintained by the most talented and

eminent politicians in the face of sound reason and constant experience. It arises from confounding two distinct things, viz. the power to enable the head of a Government to overthrow Constitutional barriers and establish a despotism in form, and the power given to one class of citizens to infringe with impunity the rights of other citizens, which is a many-headed despotism in fact.

It is true that no militia force will assist a President to make himself an unlimited King, for the plain reason that he cannot bring them sufficiently under his control, unless he should choose to make or provoke a war, in which case he becomes a "Dictator" at once, whatever may be his title; but for this very reason this militia are less restrained by him from aggressions on other citizens; and let no one suppose they will refrain from such aggressions because they are fellow citizens, for experience shows that temporary power is as often abused as that which is permenant. We need not go back to the overwhelming proof of this, afforded by the militia tyrannies of ancient nations and those of the middle ages; the writer has himself witnessed in the present age and in this boasted land of liberty, the most violent outrages on private rights, directed by subordinate militia commanders, which no law, has checked or punished. If we must have military tyrants, give us those which are controlled by others who are higher and more responsible.

But a militia organization is in itself a despotism. Soldiers of the regular army are enlisted apparently by consent and are paid for their criminal services. They are generally the refuse of society who are hired to commit murders for Government instead of doing so on their own account; but the honest citizen is compelled to enter the militia establishment and there to expose his person to danger and his morals to contamination, and to be reduced to a slavery which, according to Franklin, "is worse than that of a negro." It may indeed be temporary, but he is constantly liable to it; and if it is frequent enough to be efficient, it will produce a habit of submissiveness which ever has and ever will destroy all mental independence.

It is remarkable that the people of Great Britain, who have long been accustomed to the presence of a regular military force in their own land, which indeed they abhor as an incubus, yet have never considered it as infringing their own individual liberty; but the recent proposal of government to raise by draft a militia force, has spread a flame of panic through the kingdom. Crowded meetings have assembled to protest against the measure, and every where is portrayed the glaring injustice of compelling men to quit their families and their industry, to go out "to shoot and be shot at," for the alleged protection of other men who will remain safely

at home. Yet this is the very principle on which the defence of this country is rested, by a people who are ever boasting that they are freer than those of Britain.

The time, it is hoped, will soon arrive when the common sense of men will at least come up to that of the fabled brute, and they will see the absurdity of endeavoring to preserve political freedom by a military system which makes instruments or victims of tyranny of every citizen in the land; and when intelligent Christians shall perceive that armed establishments of any sort, avowedly designed for deliberate murders of foreign brethren on a great scale, can never be blessed by the God of love as the means of the safety, liberty or peace of nations.

### UNIVERSAL BROTHERHOOD.

# A Word to the Working Men of America From their Brethren across the Atlantic.

The National Association for promoting the Political and Social Improvement of the People, to the Working Classes of America, on the War Spirit that is sought to be excited between the two Countries.

#### Working Men of America:

By our alliance of blood, of language, and religion, as well as by every aspiration we feel for the mutual freedom, peace, prosperity and happiness of our respective countries, we would address you as brethren; in the assurance that, as brethren, our interests are identified, and in the hope that no other spirit than that of brotherhood may long continue to exist between us.

But the hostile threats and warlike preparations, the jealousies and prejudices now sought to be fomented by the interested, thoughtless, and immoral of your country and our own, have awakened us to a deep sense of the dangers which threaten the peace and welfare of the Working Classes of all Countries;—evils which we believe our mutual understanding and wise and determined resolutions may timely avert.

You, fortunately, possessing political power to restrain the unjuts acts of your rulers, are, we fear, too apt to believe that the persecutions, encroachments, and insolence which for ages past have characterised the Aristocracy of England towards most nations of the earth, have been shared in by the great body of the industrious classes; who, unhappily, for the most part, have hitherto had neither voice nor vote in the matter.

That the power and influence of our Aristocracy over the minds and consciences of men, their perversion of every principle of morality and precept of religion to uphold their power and monopolies, have often enabled them to enlist great numbers of our unreflecting brethren to fight their battles, and espouse their cause, we readily admit; but those, we conceive, should be pitied, rather than blamed, as the deluded victims of